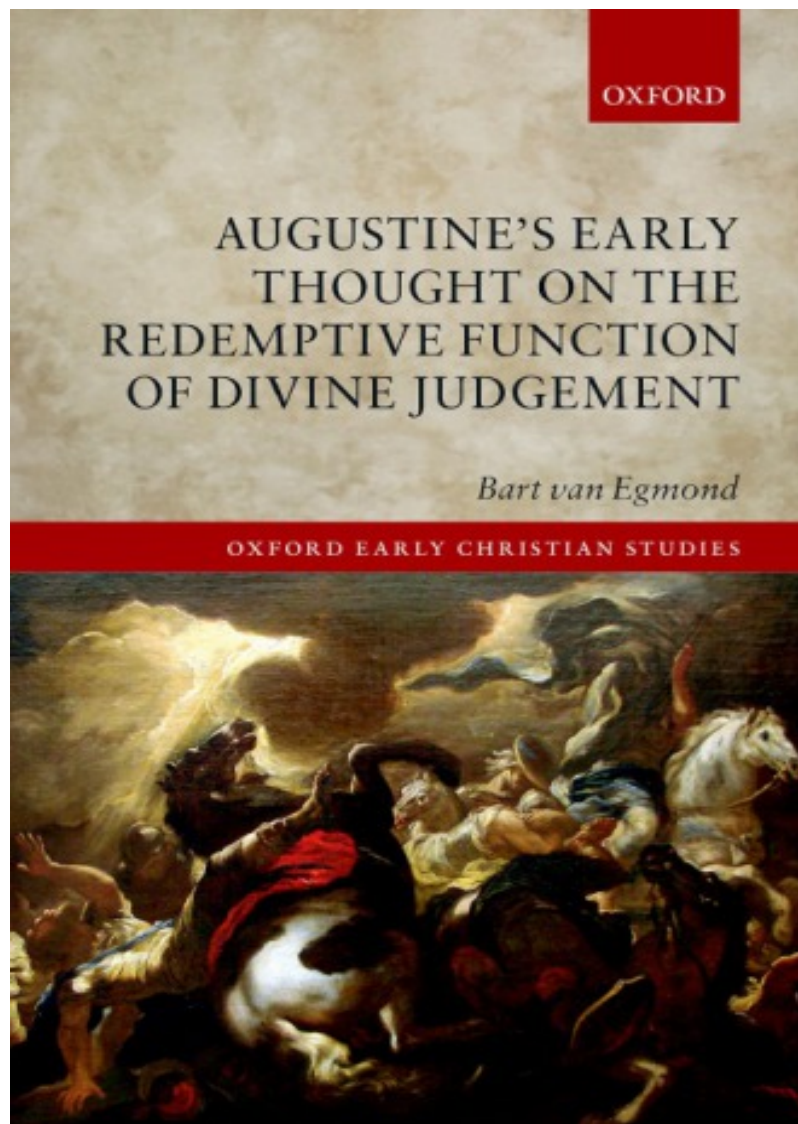


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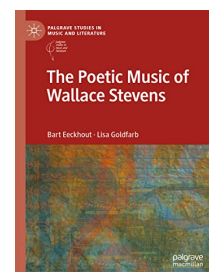
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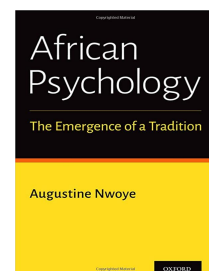
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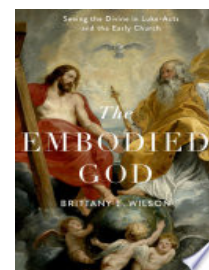
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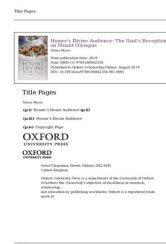
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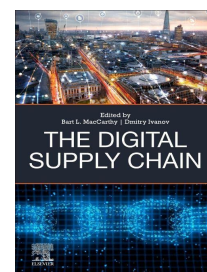
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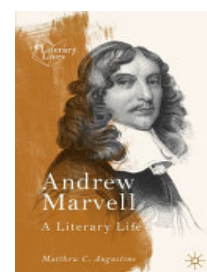
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Capelle aan den IJssel,

6 August 2018

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1

Introduction

GOD'S JUDGEMENT AND HIS MERCY: WHY STUDY AUGUSTINE ON THIS TOPIC TODAY?

'God loves you as you are'. Expressions such as these have become common among Western Christians, at least in the evangelical branch of Christianity to which the writer of this book belongs. Hymns and Psalms that sing about God's wrath over human sin and rejoice in divine forgiveness and mercy are supplanted by songs that centre on man's mystical union with God who is an overflowing fountain of love and embrace. Inclusion and diversity are favoured over moral and doctrinal strictness. These developments in Western Christianity indicate that Christians find it increasingly difficult to understand how the justice and holiness of God relate to his love and mercy.

How is this to be explained? Charles Taylor has argued that since the Reformation, European culture has moved away from what he calls the 'juridical-penal framework' to understand God's relationship to the world. The Augustinian-Anselmian tradition regarded humanity as created good, but as at present suffering under the penal consequences of sin (both original and actual). Humanity was guilty and God proved to be a righteous judge by punishing sin both in time and in eternity. At the same time, this God was believed to be merciful. He had shown his love in history by sending his Son into the world to pay the penalty of sin and in doing so save his people from eternal damnation. In this framework, the fear of God, the pain of suffering as chastisement of sin, but also the joy in forgiveness and God-given satisfaction for human debt, paving the way to a new life here and hereafter, were part and parcel of how the Christian perceived his relation to God.¹

The rise of deism and humanism altered this understanding of God's relationship to his creation. These philosophies understood the present world as a harmonious order, which contains all the resources needed to attain human flourishing. Moreover, they did not regard humanity as radically fallen;

¹ Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 78.

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it rather stood in need of improvement. Through the gift of the light of reason, God had indeed endowed humanity with the tool to improve itself. In this picture, God is perceived not primarily as humanity's judge, but rather as its educator or helper. It is not without reason that the Enlightenment thinkers fiercely attacked the doctrines of original sin, penal atonement, and predestination.² These doctrines did not fit in the new worldview in which God and man were perceived as co-workers towards a better future for mankind, rather than as judge/saviour and condemned sinners, respectively.

In postmodern times, after the eclipse of the grand narratives and the enlightened optimism about history, this perception of the relationship between God and man has not essentially changed. It has rather received a Gnostic twist.³ Postmodernism no longer perceives humans as rational agents, capable of moving themselves and the world towards a better future, but it sees them as battlegrounds of innumerable social forces.⁴ At the same time, there is a widespread, romantic belief in the goodness of our spontaneous aspirations. Evil does not arise from our rebellion against God, but is alienation from a pure self, primarily caused by external influences. The mission of the late modern person is to discover his or her inner core and express it in an authentic way of life. In this framework, God's salvific action towards humans is perceived in therapeutic terms: he reminds us of our true identity, and helps us to recover it.⁵

These modern and late modern views of the relationship between God and mankind have supplanted the juridical-penal framework of the Augustinian-Anselmian tradition, which has dominated the West for such a long time. God is rather perceived as opposing the evil that we suffer, or as suffering with us, than as somehow acting through it as our judge. If humans are essentially good, and God intends human flourishing, why would he allow us to suffer, or even demand the death of his Son for human redemption?⁶ This view of God also explains the modern difficulty with God's exercise of revenge in the Old Testament. How can a God of love, who exists for our wellbeing, command the death of essentially good people?

This culturally conditioned change in the understanding of the Christian faith instigated my interest in Augustine of Hippo's (354–430) understanding of the relationship between God's grace and his justice. How does Augustine conceive of the place and function of divine justice within the process of salvation? I have chosen Augustine, as he shaped the 'juridical-penal-framework' that defined Western Christianity for such a long time. Rereading his theology on this issue

² Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 262.

³ On the return of Gnosticism in postmodernity, see Luca Di Blasi, *Der Geist in der Revolte. Der Gnostizismus und seine Wiederkehr in der Postmoderne* (Munich: W. Fink, 2002).

⁴ For the postmodern turn to the 'victimization of the agent', see Adonis Vidu, *Atonement, Law and Justice: The Cross in Historical and Cultural Contexts* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2014), 183.

⁵ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 618.

⁶ Taylor, *A Secular Age*, 651ff.

could be of help to present-day Christians, who are willing to look into the mirror of their own tradition and evaluate the way they understand their faith.

What makes it even more interesting to study Augustine on this subject is that the movements of thought with which Augustine conversed show striking similarities with modern and postmodern ideas that circulate in our world. Notwithstanding the differences, the optimism of the Enlightenment about human nature and its capacity to be educated resembles classical pedagogical ideas about human reason and its capacity to emancipate man from irrational behaviour. Also the Gnosticism of Augustine's time seems to return somehow in late modernity. The Gnostic (Manichaean) argument that humans have a divine core, from which they are alienated by an evil nature, resembles late modern views of the human person as essentially good, but suffering under self-alienation caused by external social forces. And the Gnostic view of God as himself suffering under evil, and redeeming man through gnosis, resembles the postmodern preference of a non-violent God, who is not sovereign over evil, but suffers with us, and helps us to recover our true inner identity.

This book is limited in its scope. It offers a historical reading of Augustine, rather than a contemporary application of his theology. Moreover, it does not cover all of Augustine's works, but describes the development of his thought on the relationship between God's grace and his justice during the first ten years of his career as a philosopher and theologian. This does not mean, however, that the book is only of interest to those who read Augustine from an historical perspective. As indicated above, the historical context in which Augustine developed his Christian theology of grace and judgement resembles our modern and postmodern situation in many respects. This makes the study also relevant to a readership that seeks for theological inspiration to deal with contemporary questions.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE RESEARCH QUESTION

Before we start our actual journey through Augustine's works, it is helpful to contextualize the research question. Which theological and philosophical traditions influenced Augustine and defined the context in which his thought on the salvific meaning of divine judgement developed? In the following sections I will first sketch the anti-Gnostic theological tradition that Augustine received as a young Christian and which shaped the framework of his thinking on divine justice and mercy. Secondly, I will describe the relevant aspects of the classical pedagogical tradition with which Augustine was acquainted, both through his own education, and through his study of Cicero and other philosophical sources. The last section provides a discussion of how this study contributes to existing research in the field of Augustinian studies.

The (Alexandrian) Anti-dualist Tradition

The great obstacle that held Augustine back from returning to the religion of his youth was a Gnostic form of Christianity: Manichaeism. After Cicero had enkindled in him a desire for the immortality of wisdom, he had turned to the Manichees. Both their criticism of orthodox Christianity, their explanation of evil, and their promise of offering a purely rational religion had attracted Augustine.

He describes his return to Catholic Christianity as a struggle to overcome Manichaeism and to find a credible alternative that would satisfy his desire for wisdom. The problem that tormented Augustine the most was the origin of evil. In the Milanese circle, represented by Ambrose, Simplicianus, and Mallius Theodorus, he discovered a concept of evil that enabled him to recover the religion of his youth in a new way.⁷ Building upon a Platonist ontology, they taught him that evil is to be understood as the soul's voluntary aversion from the highest good towards lower things (*peccatum*), and as the penalty that follows upon this choice (*poena peccati*). This explanation enabled Augustine to understand his soul's entanglement in carnal habit as God's penalty for his own sins, rather than as the assault of another nature on the divine element within him. He further came to know Christ as the Wisdom of God, who had assumed a human body to liberate the soul and permit it to achieve its spiritual destiny.⁸

In Milan Augustine adopted a form of Christianity that was both anti-dualist and philosophical. It is very likely that he became acquainted with the Alexandrian apologetic tradition, represented by Clement and Origen.⁹

⁷ For passages in which Ambrose attacks Gnostic ideas about evil as a nature, and describes it as sin and its punishment, see *hex.* 1,31; 4,13; 4,17; *parad.* 6,31.

⁸ *conf.* 7–8.

⁹ R. Holte, *Béatitude et sagesse. Saint Augustin et le problème de la fin de l'homme dans la philosophie ancienne* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1962), 187ff. Holte argues for the influence of a theological tradition of an Alexandrian type ('de type alexandrin'), expressed in Augustine's ideal of the Christian *sapiens*, propagated by the Alexandrians Clement and Origen, but absent in Ambrose and the Latin Fathers. Holte does not express himself, however, on literary influences. György Heidl, *The Influence of Origen on the Young Augustine: A Chapter of the History of Origenism* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009) has attempted to dig deeper into Origen's possible influences on Augustine and arrives at the daring thesis that the 'libri quidam pleni... bonas res Arabicas' that Augustine mentions in *Contra Academicos* 2,5 were not the books of the Platonists, but rather translations of Origen. He also traces Origen's influence in Augustine's early *De Genesi Contra Manichaeos*. Iliari Ramelli, 'Origen in Augustine: A Paradoxical Reception', *Numen* 60 (2013), 280–307 has built upon Heidl's work to argue that Augustine in his early years taught the doctrine of *apokatastasis* (see footnote 30). For a more reserved evaluation of Origen's influence on Augustine, see Berthold Altaner, 'Augustinus und Origenes', in idem, *Kleine patristische Schriften* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), 224–52. However one evaluates Origen's direct influence on Augustine, it seems to me that there is enough evidence from his early writings that Augustine was attracted by the combination of anti-dualism and philosophical (especially Platonic) aspiration that characterized Origen's account of Christianity. These similarities have also been noted by

Their anti-Gnostic theology, which they presented as a form of Christian pedagogy of the human soul, bears much resemblance to Augustine's early theological preoccupations.

In the wake of predecessors such as Justin Martyr and Irenaeus of Lyon, Clement and Origen fought against a Gnostic understanding of reality, which attributed the creation of the material world to a lower deity (the demiurge) that was opposed to the highest god, or had originated from a fall in the constellation of divine beings. Gnosticism conceived of the true god as purely transcendental, absolutely surpassing the sphere of *heimarmenè*, the sublunar reality where dark powers rule over our bodies. The highest god does not intervene in this world by force, as the demiurge does, but by revealing secret knowledge (*gnosis*) to remind fallen souls of their divine identities. According to its opponents, Gnosticism connected this view of the world to a soteriological determinism. The Gnostics believed they were saved by nature, because of the identity of their souls with the highest god.¹⁰ As long as they were in this world, they only had to resist the power of evil that intended to harm them through the body. God was on their side, but they had to suffer the onslaughts of the demiurge until its final defeat.¹¹ This dualism also affected their view of the relationship between the Old and the New Testaments. The Gnostics as it were 'reversed' salvation history as it is presented in the Hebrew Scriptures. The Creator and Lord of Israel, whom the Old Testament presents as the one and only ruler of the world, they presented as the evil persecutor of the Gnostics, the allies of the true transcendental god. This Old Testament dissembler continuously tried to destroy the Gnostics by persecuting and punishing them.¹² Adam's exclusion from paradise, the flood, and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah—all such judgements were seen as evil attempts of the demiurge to exercise his dominion over those who belonged to the true god. Jesus inaugurated something entirely new. He was regarded as one of the mediators through whom the transcendent god revealed *gnosis* to fallen souls, to remind them of their homeland above the heavens, and by doing so to liberate them from the power of darkness.

Given this perceived unity between the divine and the soul of the Gnostic, it is not surprising that Gnostic Christians were regarded as relativizing external

C. P. Bammel, 'Augustine, Origen and the Exegesis of St. Paul', *Augustinianum* 32/2 (1992), 341–68 (347–51).

¹⁰ Winrich Löhr, 'Gnostic Determinism Reconsidered', *Vigiliae Christianae* 46 (1991), 381–90; Luise Schottroff, 'Animae naturaliter salvandae, zum Problem der himmlischen Herkunft des Gnostikers', in *Christentum und Gnosis*, edited by Walther Eltester (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Töpelmann, 1969), 65–98. Schottroff argues that this heresiological category often does not fit the Gnostic texts themselves.

¹¹ Jason David BeDuhn, 'Augustine, Manichaeism, and the Logic of Persecution', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 7 (2005), 153–66 (160–6).

¹² Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 146–8; Schottroff, 'Animae naturaliter salvandae', 70.

authority. This is identifiable, for example, in Clement's *Paedagogos*, where the author depicts his Gnostic opponents as people who regard themselves as already perfect after their enlightenment and therefore as no longer in need of teaching by others whom they regarded as lower than themselves.¹³ In the eyes of their opponents, therefore, Gnostic anthropology was dangerously liable to forms of anti-nomianism,¹⁴ a charge that Augustine will repeat against the Manichees.

Clement and Origen used their pedagogical interpretation of Christianity to battle the Gnostic worldview. They emphasized that the Creator of this world and the Father of Jesus Christ are one and the same God. They further strongly defended the doctrine of providence. They believed that God the Creator cares for this world and governs it in a righteous way, rewarding everyone according to the merits of his free will. Not nature, but rather merit, is what counts for salvation. It is from this context that their discourse on divine punishment is to be understood. Against the Gnostic opposition between the good, transcendent god and the severe or just god, they argued that the one God expresses his goodness exactly by showing his justice in punishing sin.¹⁵ In doing so, God acts as a pedagogue who intends to educate his pupils to become wise adults. In his *Paedagogos*, Clement states that God as a good educator adapts himself to the capabilities of his students. He prefers to teach by words, but for those who are not eager to learn, he uses the method of disciplinary punishment. In this regard, the incarnate Word does not differ from the God of the Old Testament. Both in the Old Testament and in the New, the Word teaches through words, appealing to human reason and his free will, but threatens the unwilling with the rod of correction, because he wants to save them from ultimate damnation.¹⁶

By thus presenting salvation history as a pedagogical process, the apologists connected biblical language about God's discipline of his people (LXX: *paideia*) to the Greek educational tradition. This connection is also evident from Clement's use of medical imagery to characterize God's disciplinary treatment of his people.¹⁷ As we shall see, the comparison between medicine and education was widespread among philosophical schools in Antiquity.

¹³ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos*, 1,52.

¹⁴ Albrecht Dihle, 'Gerechtigkeit', *Reallexikon für antikes Christentum* 10, 245–360 (318–19).

¹⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos*, 1,53–74.

¹⁶ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogos*, 1,60–1: 'Scripture seems to be suggesting that those whom the Word does not heal through persuasion He will heal with threats; and those whom threats do not heal the rod will; and those whom the rod does not heal, fire will consume' (translation: FC, 55); Judith L. Kovacs, 'Divine Pedagogy and the Gnostic Teacher According to Clement of Alexandria', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9/1 (2001), 3–25 (7, 16).

¹⁷ Clement of Alexandria, *Paidagogos*, 1,81 where Clement says that the physician adapts his treatment to the illness of the patient, sometimes administering mild, sometimes stringent medicines.

Thus, Clement's presentation of Christianity as the fulfilment of Greek *paideia*¹⁸ not only served apologetic purposes towards his pagan contemporaries, but also functioned as a means to counter Gnosticism.

Clement's successor Origen further developed this pedagogical understanding of Christianity. Against the Gnostic question of why the situations of souls in this world are so different—if they are created by a good and just God—Origen argued that God created all souls equal, as disembodied entities, but sent them into bodies as a punishment for their voluntary aversion to God. The distinct situations in which they currently find themselves should be explained by the differences of their merits. This does not mean that material creation as such is evil. It is rather a secondary order, springing from God's goodness, by which God intends to restrain the effects of sin, and lead fallen souls back to himself.¹⁹ He gave them a bodily existence that suited the measure of their sin, in order to educate each soul through the suffering allotted to it. Each soul receives the education that it needs. Some need to be constrained like children and slaves, because they lack an understanding of their need of salvation; others can be taught by words and reason. But the doctor of all souls makes sure that all receive the treatment that they need, so that God will eventually become all in all.²⁰ In this educational process, the incarnate Logos is the teacher par excellence.²¹

In his account of divine pedagogy Origen reserved a significant place for human free will. Only because souls retain free will (*prohairesis*)²² and continue to participate in the divine Logos, can they cooperate with God's teaching, and eventually be restored to their original condition.²³ As God does not coerce anyone, but makes use of the free will of his rational creatures, the process of purification might take several *aions* (thus Origen adapts the Platonic idea of *metempsychosis*), but it will eventually result in the *apokatastasis pantoön*, the restoration of all rational creatures to their original situation of contemplation.²⁴ It should be noted at this point that Origen is very

¹⁸ Werner Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 24–5; Kovacs, 'Divine Pedagogy', 1.

¹⁹ Origen, *De principiis*, 2,9,5–8 (ANF 4, 291–2).

²⁰ Origen, *De principiis*, 3,5,8.

²¹ Hal Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis. Studien über Origenes und sein Verhältniss zum Platonismus* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 22; Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 1932), 61–5. Christ brings to completion both God's education in the Old Testament and in the tradition of Greek philosophy.

²² On Origen's anti-Gnostic interest to preserve the freedom of the will, see Michael Frede, *A Free Will: Origins of the Notion in Ancient Thought* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 102–24.

²³ Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis*, 24–7.

²⁴ Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis*, 26; Ramelli, 'Christian Soteriology and Christian Platonism: Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and the Biblical and Philosophical Basis of the Doctrine of Apokatastasis', *Vigiliae Christianae* 61 (2007), 313–56 (esp. 314–22). Ramelli points out that Origen's Platonic presupposition that God is the good who necessarily communicates itself, and his view of evil as privation, underpins Origen's theory of universal restoration. Mark S. M. Scott

reluctant to teach the doctrine of *apokatastasis* to everyone, because it might provoke moral laxity. It should not be taught to those to whom the threat of eternal punishment is still useful, just as children profit from the threat of punishment, even if the parent eventually refrains from executing it.²⁵ Origen sees the Church as a pedagogical institute that accommodates to each individual soul, teaching some, threatening others as still-irrational children, and applying remedial punishments for their sins.²⁶

What is important for the present investigation is that Clement and Origen attempted to reconcile God's goodness and his justice over against the Gnostics by interpreting divine punishment in time exclusively from a pedagogical perspective. In their system, God is just in treating us according to the merits of our free will, and good in that his punishments for sin are never merely retributive, but rather constructive. By punishing us, God appeals to our mind and will so that we might turn back to him. For Origen this connection of divine goodness and justice even leads to the idea of the restoration of all things. Eventually, there is no retributive justice from God's side, but rather only remedial justice, even for the devil and his angels.

Ekkehard Mühlenberg has argued that Origen's account of evil resembles the understanding of evil in Neoplatonism, in that he does not regard it as radically opposed to the good, as an anti-power, but rather as an alienation from the good, which is always encompassed by the self-communication of the good.²⁷ This idea finds expression in Origen's doctrine of creation. When the soul turns away from God, bodily creation is the means through which God arrests souls in their fall and draws them back to himself, denying evil the opportunity to take radical possession of man. God's justice and his mercy thus always work together. In this regard, Origen's account of evil differs from that of Athanasius, Mühlenberg argues. Athanasius regarded the first sin of humanity as unleashing a dynamic power that takes possession of humans and makes them radically opposed to God. The experience of suffering and death, which results from sin, does not foster their return, but rather makes them seek comfort and hope in self-invented idols. Only the divine choice to cancel the power of evil through the death of the Word itself could liberate humanity from evil's power. In this vision, divine justice and mercy are much more differentiated.²⁸ God's punishment of sin does not necessarily have a pedagogical function.

('Guarding the Mysteries of Salvation: The Pastoral Pedagogy of Origen's Universalism', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 18/3 (2010), 347–70) has argued, however, that this doctrine has an experimental character and is counterbalanced by many texts in which Origen argues for the existence of eternal punishment.

²⁵ Scott, 'Guarding the Mysteries of Salvation', 365.

²⁶ Koch, *Pronoia und Paideusis*, 82.

²⁷ Ekkehard Mühlenberg, 'Das Verständniss des Bösen in neuplatonischer und frühchristlicher Sicht', *Kerygma und Dogma* 15/1 (1969), 226–38.

²⁸ E. Mühlenberg, 'Verité et bonté de Dieu: une interprétation du *De Incarnatione*, chapitre 4, en perspective historique', in *Gott in der Geschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte*,

Although it remains a matter of discussion whether Augustine adopted Origen's metaphysical framework (the fall of the soul and the *apokatastasis pantoön*),²⁹ his early writings testify that he did share Clement and Origen's pedagogical understanding of salvation history and the function of divine judgement within it. This raises the first question of our investigation: how does Augustine relate to this pedagogical understanding of punishment in his early writings and how does his thought develop up until the *Confessions*? I will argue that Augustine initially adopted a pedagogical approach, in which God's punishment of sin is by nature instructive (presupposing the freedom of the will), but gradually comes to disconnect this combination of punishment and mercy. Only for the predestined, who have been liberated from the law of death in the body of Christ, does God's judgment have pedagogical effects. In this regard, Augustine departed from the Origenist tradition by upholding its theodicy without upholding its belief in human free will.³⁰

Philosophical Psychagogy

As observed in the previous section, Christian apologists presented Christianity in close connection to the Hellenistic culture of education. Augustine shared in this culture. He received a classical literary education, and after his reading of Cicero, he acquainted himself with important philosophical schools. In order to understand Augustine's view of how God's judgement relates to his mercy, it is helpful to briefly sketch some pedagogical ideas with which Augustine must have been acquainted.

Before I address the tradition of philosophical psychagogy that Augustine inherited via Cicero and other sources, I will make a few remarks about the use of (corporeal) punishment within the context of education. In the education of children corporeal punishment was not uncommon.³¹ Augustine himself

edited by E. Mühlenberg (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2008), 215–28 (223–4). Cf. Athanasius, *Contra gentes*, 1–10; *De Incarnatione*, 20.

²⁹ Robert O'Connell has argued that the early Augustine did teach the fall of the soul theory to explain the present existence of humanity in the body. Others scholars such as Goulven Madec, Frederick van Fleteren, and Gerard O'Daly have contradicted him. The discussion continues up to the present day and is well summarized by Ronny Rombs, *Saint Augustine and the Fall of the Soul: Beyond O'Connell and his Critics* (Washington, DC: University of America Press, 2006). Recently, Iliari Ramelli ('Origen in Augustine: A Paradoxical Reception', *Numen* 60 (2013), 280–307) has argued that Augustine taught the doctrine of *apokatastasis pantoön* in his early years, probably without knowing that it derived from Origen. She bases her argument mainly on *mor.* 2,7,9, CSEL 90,95: 'Dei bonitas . . . omnia deficientia sic ordinat, ut ibi sint ubi congruentissime possint esse, donec ordinatis motibus ad id recurrant unde defecerunt.'

³⁰ Bammell, 'Augustine, Origen and the Exegesis of St. Paul', 350–1.

³¹ H.-I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* (Nouvelle Édition; Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1947), 397–9; Christian Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire: Outsiders Within* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 143.

experienced this custom at school.³² The same applied to the custom of beating children at home. Philosophically, the use of the whip against children was justified on the basis of the assumption that they lacked reason. Greek and Roman writers regularly compare children to animals and postulate that because they are incapable of controlling their passions, they cannot be expected to act on the basis of reason. Therefore, they have to be domesticated by fear of punishment.

In theory, children did not differ from slaves. Both were held in check through fear of punishment.³³ However, in practice, children had a different status from slaves; they were their parent's own flesh and blood, and represented the family's hope for the future. Furthermore, corporeal punishment was generally regarded as violating someone's dignity.³⁴ To flog or whip someone was to degrade him to the status of a slave or a low-class person. Therefore, in the case of freeborn children, whipping represented a paradox to the aristocratic mind.³⁵ An aristocratic Roman father regarded his son as someone who should be educated to become an honourable citizen. As such, he desired to avoid making him into a fearful and subservient person by treating him as a slave. So the goal of chastisement was to advance filial loyalty, rather than merely to instil fear and confirm hierarchy.³⁶

Mere retributive punishments characterized the relationship between slaves and their owners and between rulers and their subjects. Slaves were simply punished in order to affirm and preserve the hierarchical relationship. In legal cases, punishment was applied for the sake of restoring justice. If a person did not possess Roman citizenship, a magistrate could even flog him without a legal case,³⁷ just for the sake of preserving order.³⁸ Outside of the classroom and the family, corporeal punishment thus only had a retributive, repressive function (*coercitio*).

Augustine also became acquainted with the tradition of philosophical psychagogy, the cure of the soul by training the mind in rational thinking. Cicero mediated to him a Platonic-Socratic understanding of philosophy as a way of healing the soul from its irrational passions.³⁹ Plato taught that the

³² *conf.* 1,13–14.

³³ Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 143–4.

³⁴ Th. de Bruyn, 'Flogging a Son: The Emergence of the *pater flagellans* in Latin Christian Discourse', *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7/2 (1999), 249–90 (259).

³⁵ Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire*, 144.

³⁶ Richard Saller, 'Corporeal Punishment, Authority and Obedience in the Roman Household', in *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, edited by Beryl Rawson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 143–65 (161).

³⁷ Roman citizens had the right of *prouocatio*, the appeal to the court in order to receive a fair hearing. See Saller, 'Corporeal Punishment', 155–6.

³⁸ Flogging was feared by everyone, because it had a symbolic connection to slavery, the loss of Roman *dignitas*.

³⁹ Paul Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls: Revising a Classical Ideal* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 69. For Cicero's understanding of philosophy as *medicina animi*, see *Tusc. Disp.* 3,3; 3,10–11.

human soul currently suffers under the passions, caused by wrong judgements that it had contracted through custom and upbringing. Therefore, the soul had to be converted from the world of common opinion (*doxa*) to the world of the ideas, where plain truth (*alètheia*) was to be found.⁴⁰ By remembering its knowledge of the ideas (*anamnesis*), the soul could heal itself from irrationality and act according to the truth. Plato compared philosophy to medicine and the philosophical teacher to a doctor, who needed to know the state of his patient's soul in order to apply the right treatment.⁴¹ Over against the sophists, he stated that rhetoric should serve this medical purpose. Words should not be used to win the crowds for oneself, but to liberate the crowds from their errors. This could imply painful surgery, as the philosophical rhetor deprived his patients of their most cherished opinions about the good. Nonetheless, this severe discipline served their ultimate interest: the return of the soul from the external world, to itself, in order to delight in the truth alone.

In his reflections on the state and on citizenship, Plato also reserved a place for (corporeal) punishment in the process of philosophical education. Starting from the Socratic principle that all sin results from ignorance, he wonders on what basis punishment could be justified. A retributive understanding of punishment is to be rejected, as this presupposes that the sin is done voluntarily, and this is exactly what Plato denies. Therefore, for Plato, punishment can only be justified as a cure of the disease of ignorance. If someone does something wrong, the rational mind is to be regarded as suffering atrophy through the swelling of the lower parts of the soul. Punishment is a surgical measure to release the mind from the suppressing power of the passions. At the same time, this punishment has a deterrent character for the body politic at large.⁴² In Plato, as in other philosophers, education and restraint are not in opposition to each other. The former rather serves the latter.

Plato's therapeutic understanding of philosophy as medicine of the mind had become mainstream among philosophical schools in the Hellenistic

⁴⁰ Kolbet, *Augustine and the Cure of Souls*, 23.

⁴¹ Werner Jaeger, *Paideia. Die Formung des Griechischen Menschen*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959³), 292.

⁴² On this twofold function of punishment, see *Gorgias* 525B. Cf. E. Barker, *The Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle* (New York: Dover, 1959), 204. Plato's project was to ascribe to the state itself an educating function. He observed that lawgivers usually acted as slave doctors who merely prescribed a medicine for a particular illness (i.e. punishment) without examining the actual health situation of the patient. Plato proposed that lawgivers needed to be true doctors who examined the health situation of the patient, not only to cure, but also to prevent further illness. In other words, lawgivers needed to be educators. For this reason, he thought that the ideal state had to be governed by philosophers. Punishment and restraint needed to have a pedagogical, rather than a mere retributive purpose (Jaeger, *Paideia*, vol. 3, 291–3). Simultaneously, he denied that virtue could be attained by mere 'character formation', because it depended on a direct vision of the good. Nonetheless, good example and restraint of the lower soul could have an ancillary function in gaining this vision of the good. Cf. R. F. Stalley, 'Punishment in the Protagoras', *Phronesis* 40/1 (1995), 1–19 (17–19).

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founded there years ago by Khrimean. A cloud of unusual gloom enveloped the destinies of the ancient place; and one might doubt whether the gentle Daniel had ever experienced so many calamities during the thirty-five years which he had passed within these walls. The most severely felt of all the blows which the Turkish Government had been raining upon them was the loss of their printing press. Some short while back the officials appeared and walked off with the precious instrument, of which the voice had been mute for many years. They erected it in Van, and, having kidnapped an Armenian compositor, used it to publish an official gazette. In company with the Mudir I had happened to pass the building where it was lodged; and my companion remarked to me that he was looking forward to obtaining some money for his schools with the proceeds of the sale of the paper.⁸⁶

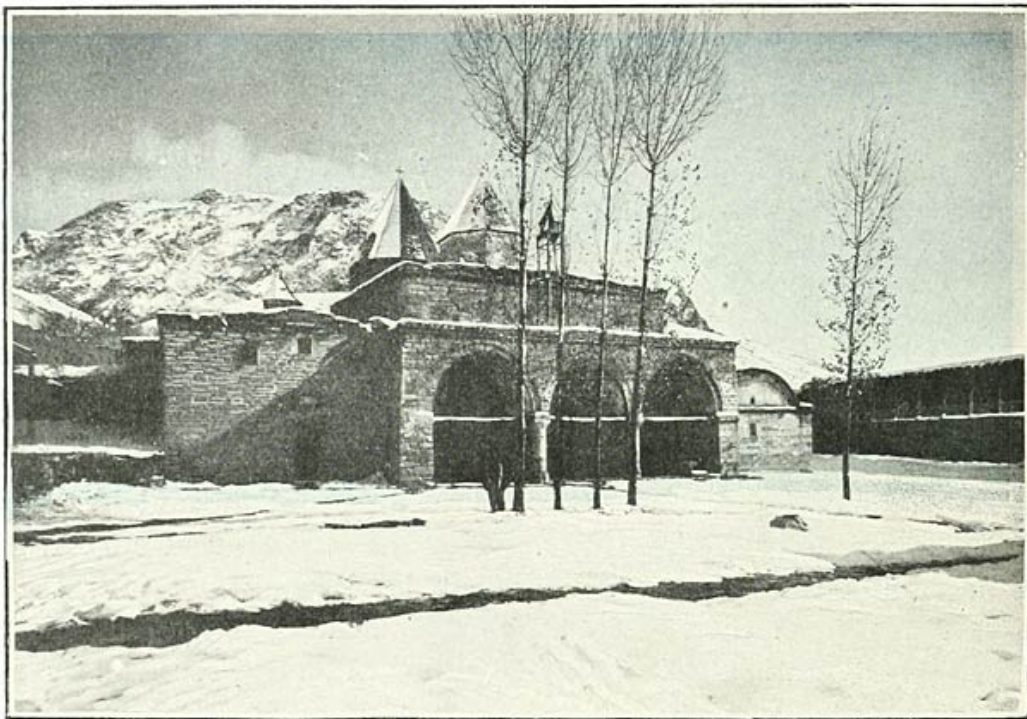


FIG. 136. MONASTERY OF YEDI KILISA (VARAG).

The site of the monastery is a dip or pass upon the outline of gentle hills which stretch from the more southerly slopes of the mountain to confine the plain upon the south ([Fig. 136](#)). From its windows only a vista of the lake is obtained. The church consists of a larger pronaos with the usual conical dome, communicating on the east by a richly moulded and spacious doorway with a chapel or sanctuary.⁸⁷ The interior of this chapel recalls features in St. Ripsime at Edgmiatsin. It has four apses or recesses, one on each wall, separated from one another by deep niches. The whole is surmounted by a conical dome ([Fig. 137](#)). In the floor of the pronaos are seen three stone slabs with inscriptions. They cover the remains of King Senekerim, of the Armenian mediæval dynasty, his queen Khoshkhosh and the Katholikos Petros. The frame of an altar erected upon the site

of these slabs has been stripped of all its ornaments. This act appears to have been committed by the *Hayrik*, and out of anger against Senekerim.⁸⁸ The mild features of Daniel Vardapet contracted as we spoke of that monarch; and he assured me with some vehemence that he would dig out his bones and cast them on the rocks were it not for his title of king of Armenia. The chapel of Yedi Kilisa is most interesting to the student of architecture, and is no doubt a work of considerable antiquity. A ruined chapel on the south of the building contains a much-effaced inscription to the effect that it was constructed by the lady Khoshkhosh, daughter of Gagik and queen of Senekerim.⁸⁹



FIG. 137. INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH AT YEDI KILISA.

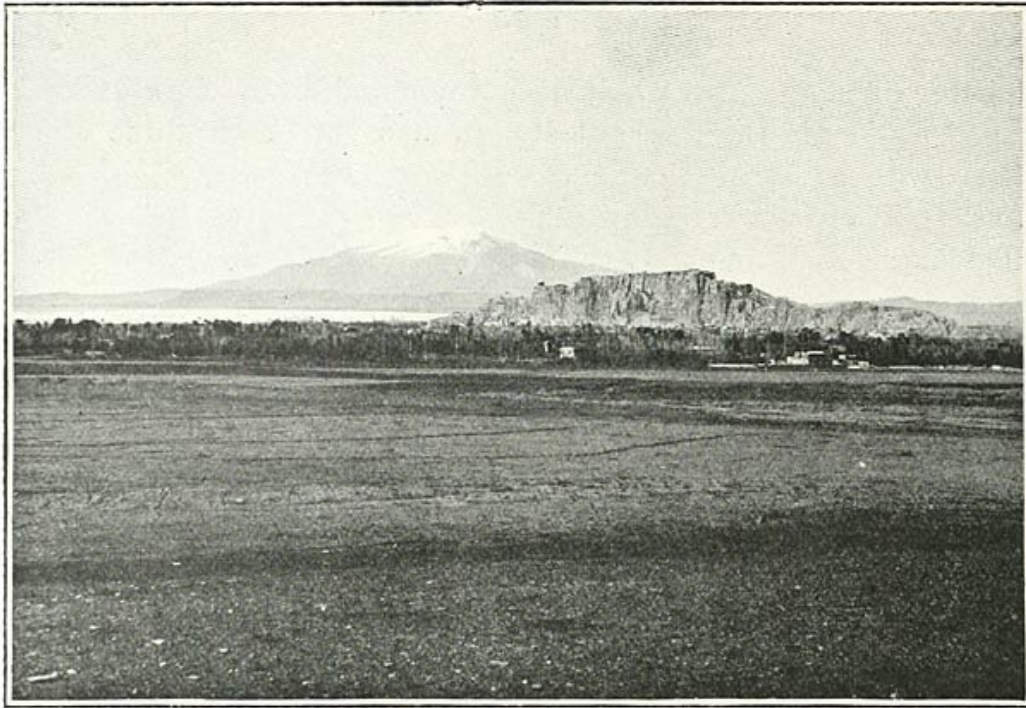


FIG. 138. VAN ON THE ROAD TO BITLIS.

¹ Strabo, xi. 529. This account exactly corresponds to the phenomena presented by Lake Urmi, and it is impossible to apply it to Lake Van as Ritter (*Erdkunde*, ix. p. 784) has done. It is quite true that Strabo has already six chapters back mentioned and described the former under the name of Spauta, which is quite likely a misprint for Kapauta, a corruption of the Armenian name Kapotan, which, in turn, is evidently derived from the Armenian word *kapoyt*, signifying blue (Saint Martin, *Mémoires*, i. p. 59). In that passage he rightly places the lake in the Atropatian Media; while in chapter 529 he speaks of it under a different name, that of Mantiane, and says that it extends *as far as* Atropatia. But that the Mantiane, as described by Strabo, is not our Lake Van, and that the latter is in many respects most faithfully portrayed by him under the name Thopitis in sentences immediately following, there can, I think, be little doubt. ↑

² Liddell and Scott, *sub voce* τίτρον. ↑

³ Pliny, *Hist. Naturalis*, vi. ch. 31, translated by Philemon Holland, London, 1635. I have myself added the sentences in brackets. ↑

⁴ I have derived these particulars not from personal observation, but for the greater part from the notices of Abich (*Vergleichende chemische Untersuchungen der Wasser des Caspischen Meeres, Urmia und Van-See's*, *Mém. Acad. Sc. St. Petersburg*, 1859, Series 6 math. et phys. vol. vii. pp. 22 *seq.*); Loftus (*Quarterly Journal Geological Soc. London*, 1855, vol. xi. pp. 306 *seq.*); and Mr. R. T. Günther (*Geographical Journal*, November 1899, and *Proceedings of the Royal Society*, October 1899). ↑

⁵ Brandt and Wagner quoted by Sieger (*Die Schwankungen der hocharmenischen Seen*, Vienna, 1888, p. 22). ↑

⁶ Dr. W. Belck in *Globus*, 1894, vol. lxxv. p. 302; A. Owerin in Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1858, p. 471; Professor Hughes in *Nature*, February 1898. ↑

⁷ The traveller journeying along the Güzel Dere on the way from Van to Bitlis cannot fail to be impressed by the insignificance of the water-parting between the small stream, called Sapor Su, tributary to Lake Van, and the brooks which find their way to the Tigris. ↑

⁸ To the analysis of my sample by Mr. William Thorp I append that of Dr. Serda of Strasbourg from one brought by M. Müller-Simonis from Van and published on p. 258 of *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Paris, 1892. I have also thought it well to include the analysis published by Mr. Günther of the water of Lake Urmi. These will be found in the appendix to this volume.

Small lakes impregnated with soda have been found along the south-east foot of the Ararat fabric on the right bank of the Araxes. From sodas so derived an excellent soap used to be made in Alexandropol, and, for all I know, may be still manufactured there. The same practice is related of the inhabitants of Van. See Abich's article (*op. cit.* pp. 32 *seq.*), and Loftus (*op. cit.* p. 320). ↑

⁹ It must, however, be noted that certainly in the case of Lake Van no islands are found far from the shore. The last rise in level took place about 1895; and in that year there was an earthquake at Adeljivas. The inhabitants of Uran Gazi on the slopes of Sipan assured us that this earthquake produced a rise in level of the Jil Göl, adjacent to the village. ↑

¹⁰ The subject is fully discussed by Abich (*op. cit.*) and by Dr. Sieger (*Die Schwankungen der hocharmenischen Seen seit 1800*, Vienna, 1888, and *Globus*, 1894, vol. lxxv. pp. 73–75). Notable contributions have been made by Loftus (*op. cit.*), by Strecker (*Zeitschrift der Gesell. für Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1869, pp. 549 *seq.*) and by Dr. Belck (*Globus*, vol. lxxiv. pp. 157 *seq.* and vol. lxxv. pp. 301 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1898, p. 414). ↑

¹¹ It will, however, be observed that there is a discrepancy between the condition of Lake Gökcheh and that of Lake Van during the seventies and eighties. The testimony of General Schindler and of Dr. Rodler is in favour of the view that Lake Urmi was in agreement with Lake Van during the same period (Sieger, *Die Schwankungen*, etc., p. 18). ↑

¹² Loftus, *op. cit.* p. 319. ↑

¹³ *Globus*, 1894, vol. lxxv. pp. 301 and 303. ↑

¹⁴ *Geographical Journal*, November 1899, p. 513. ↑

¹⁵ *Zeits. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, Berlin, 1869, vol. iv. p. 550. ↑

¹⁶ Indications of a similar rise in the norm of the level of Lake Göljik in the southern peripheral region have been noted by Prof. Josef Wünsch (*Mitth. der K. K. geog. Gesellschaft*, Vienna, 1885, vol. xxviii. pp. 15–17). ↑

¹⁷ *Moses of Khorene*, i. 18. ↑

¹⁸ *Ibid.* i. 3. ↑

¹⁹ See the memoir of Saint Martin by Brosset prefixed to vol. xiii. of Lebeau's *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, and Saint Martin's article in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1828. ↑

- 20 *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1828, vol. ii. series 2, pp. 160–188. ↑
- 21 Layard, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 394. ↑
- 22 “On the Inscriptions of Van,” *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1848, vol. ix., two papers read by Dr. Hincks on 4th December 1847, and 4th March 1848. ↑
- 23 *Journal Asiatique*, Paris, 1880, vol. xv. series 7, pp. 540–543. ↑
- 24 Professor Sayce’s papers are contained in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xiv. 1882; vol. xx. 1888; vol. xxv. 1893; vol. xxvi. 1894. They should be referred to in the first instance by the student who wishes to penetrate further into the subject. ↑
- 25 To the names of Belck, Guyard, Lehmann, and Sayce, should be added that of Professor D. H. Müller of Vienna, the author of several papers on the subject, of which the most important is entitled “Die Keilinschrift von Aschut-Darga, entdeckt und beschrieben von Professor J. Wunsch, publicirt und erklärt von Dr. D. H. Müller,” Vienna, 1886. ↑
- 26 So we read in the newly-acquired text of the stele at Topsana (Sidikan), near Rowanduz:—“Urzana, son of Shekikajana, fled to Khaldia; I, Rusas (*i.e.* Rusas I. of Van) marched as far as the mountains of Assyria” (Dr. Belck in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Berlin, 1899, p. 116). [The translation of this passage appears, however, to have been altered by Messrs. Belck and Lehmann. See *Sitzungsberichte der K. K. Preuss. Akad.*, Berlin, June 1900. It would appear natural that the Khaldians should have called their land after their god, and Dr. Belck (*loc. cit.*) appears to entertain no doubt upon the point. On the other hand Prof. Sayce informs me that he has never found the name Khaldia in the Vannic inscriptions; and that in Assyrian Khaldia signifies the god Khaldis.] ↑
- 27 Cedrenus, *Hist.* ii. 774. ↑
- 28 Saint Martin, *Mémoires sur l’Arménie*, vol. i. pp. 131 and 138. Cp. Moses of Khorene, iii. 35, “inhabiting Van in the province of Dosp” with the title of the king in the inscriptions “king of Biaina inhabiting the city of Dhuspas.” ↑
- 29 Professor Sayce makes the suggestion (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882, vol. xiv. p. 394). The expression Bitani seems to have been loosely used; but it appears to have been applied to the peripheral region south of Lake Van, and it may survive in the name of the river Bohtan. ↑
- 30 Messrs. Belck and Lehmann adopt a later date, viz. c. 1000 B.C. See *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, p. 569. ↑
- 31 Recently discovered by Messrs. Belck and Lehmann (*Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, p. 574). ↑
- 32 Great confusion has been caused by the fact that the Assyrians had no distinctive names for the two great lakes. The subject is elucidated by Schrader (*Die Namen der Meere in den assyrischen Inschriften*, Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss., 1877, Berlin, 1878, pp. 169 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1886, pp. 81 *seq.*; *Sitzungsberichte der K. Pr. Ak. Wiss.* Berlin, 1890, pp. 321 *seq.*) and by Dr. Belck in *Verhandlungen (ut supra)*, 1894, p. 485. ↑
- 33 See Vol. I. Ch. XXI. p. 423. ↑

- 34 I retain the former spelling of the names of Shamshi-Hadad and Hadad-nirari. ↑
- 35 An admirable account of the operations of Tiglath-Pileser III. is given by Professor Lehmann in the *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1896, pp. 321 *seq.* The scheme of the defences of the Vannic kings is ably elucidated by Dr. Belck (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, vol. ix. p. 350, note). ↑
- 36 His next successor, Ispuinis, is styled king of Nairi in the Kelishin inscription and king of Biaina in that of Ashrut Darga. The succeeding monarchs are kings of Biaina, inhabiting the city of Dhuspas (Van). ↑
- 37 The best account of the Shamiram-Su or canal of Menuas is that given by Dr. Belck (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, pp. 137 *seq.*). I am under the impression that the greater part of the waters of the canal still find their way to the quarter of Van called Shamiram. ↑
- 38 Perhaps Dr. Belck, to whose penetration this discovery is due, has a little exaggerated his point when he assumes the necessity of an interval of 5 kilometres between the former site of the garden town and the rock of Van (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, p. 350). It would seem, rather, that the present quarter of Shamiram represents a portion of the old settlement as watered by the Menuas canal. ↑
- 39 “Set up a standard in the land, blow the trumpet among the nations, prepare the nations against her (sc. Babylon), call together against her the kingdoms of Ararat, Minni and Ashchenaz ...” (Jeremiah li. 27). The latter kingdom seems to have been situated between the Medes at Hamadan and the Minni. ↑
- 40 It must always be remembered that such enterprises are due with us to the energy of individuals, rarely encouraged and inspired by our learned societies or assisted financially by our Government. I trust, however, that the trustees of the British Museum will awake to the fact that excavations of the most comprehensive order can now be conducted in Armenia, and that the soil is practically virgin. With the assistance of the German Embassy at Constantinople Messrs. Belck and Lehmann were enabled not only to dig down the hill of Toprak Kala to the solid rock, but also, as it would appear, to transport their finds to Berlin. ↑
- 41 I cannot discover that any report of these excavations has ever been published. But, since writing this chapter, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam’s book, *Asshur and the Land of Nimrod* (New York, 1897), has come into my hands. Mr. Rassam’s excavations on the hill of Toprak Kala took place in 1880, and some account of them may be found in his work, pp. 377–8. ↑
- 42 For the excavations at Toprak Kala the various writings of Messrs. Belck and Lehmann should be consulted (*Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1895, pp. 612 *seq.*, and 1898, pp. 578 *seq.* Cp. also *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, pp. 356 and 357, note). For the canal and the city of Rusas or New Dhuspas see their remarks in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, pp. 141 *seq.*; *Verh. der Berl. Gesell. für Anth.* 1892, pp. 477 *seq.*; 1893, pp. 220, 222, 223; 1898, p. 576; *Zeitschrift für Assyriol.* 1894, pp. 349 *seq.*, and 1899, p. 320. ↑
- 43 This is evidently the older form of the legend of Semiramis in Armenia. The Christian hierarchy softened down or obliterated the coming to life again of Ara. ↑
- 44 The name of this goddess only occurs in one inscription, viz. Sayce, No. XXIV.; and it is interesting to observe that this is an inscription of Menuas. The name is written ideographically like that of Istar in

Assyrian and is rendered Saris by Professor Sayce. It is noticeable that Sariduris or Sarduris is the name borne by three of the Vannic kings. ↑

45 *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Van, Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1882, vol. xiv. p. 678. The languages are Babylonian, Persian and “Protomedic,” placed in parallel columns. ↑

46 Professor Sayce (*Early Israel*, London, 1899, pp. 238–239) adopts this date and considers that the classical writers confounded the Scythians with the Medes. *A priori* this view would seem probable, having regard to the natural evolution of the history of the times. ↑

47 According to Herodotus (vii. 73) the Armenians were Phrygian colonists and were armed in the Phrygian fashion. The view of the ancients seems to have been that the Phrygians, as well as the Asiatic Thracians, had migrated from Europe into Asia Minor. ↑

48 Herodotus, i. 72 and 194; v. 49 and 52. In the catalogue of the satrapies of the empire of Darius Armenia is joined with the unknown district of Pactyca (iii. 93). In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius, the Persian and Scythic texts everywhere employ Armenia for the more ancient Assyrian title Urardhu. ↑

49 For the certain identification of the Alarodians with the inhabitants of the kingdom of Urardhu or Ararat, see Sir. H. Rawlinson’s essay in Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 245. ↑

50 Herodotus, iii. 94, and cp. vii. 79. ↑

51 *Ibid.* i. 104. ↑

52 Professor Rawlinson would identify the Saspeires with the Iberians of later writers (Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, vol. iv. p. 233). In view of the prevailing opinion that the old Vannic language has some affinity with modern Georgian, this identification is most interesting. Ispir is situated on the threshold of the northern peripheral region, on the river Chorokh. ↑

53 Xenophon, *Cyropædeia*, bk. iii. chs. 1, 2 and 3. ↑

54 *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1892, p. 131; *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1892, p. 487, 1895, pp. 578 *seq.*, 1896, p. 320; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1894, pp. 82 *seq.*, and p. 358, note 1. ↑

55 *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*, translated by C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1859. ↑

56 Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iv. ch. 3, v. ch. 5, vii. ch. 8. ↑

57 The remarks of Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 1849, vol. i. p. 257) and Badger (*The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852, pp. 177 *seq.*) serve to illustrate the complexity of this question. ↑

58 Compare the remarks of Sir H. Rawlinson (Rawlinson’s *Herodotus*, iv. p. 248) and of Professor Lehmann (*Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1895, p. 580). ↑

59 Vol. I. Ch. XVI. p. 286. ↑

60 Xenophon, *Cyropædeia*, bk. iii. ch. ii. 23. ↑

61 *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, p. 591. I would especially refer my reader to Dr. Belck’s remarks upon this subject in the same publication, 1895, p. 606. ↑

62 While this chapter is going through the press some further articles by Drs. Belck and Lehmann come into my hands. These deal with their recent journeys and researches in Armenia (*Sitzungsberichte der K. P. Ak. Wiss.* Berlin, 1899, pp. 116 *seq.* and pp. 745 *seq.*; the same publication for 1900, pp. 619 *seq.*). ↑

63 Messrs. Belck and Lehmann commence the sequence: 1. Lutipris, 2. Sarduris I., 3. Arame, 4. Sarduris II., thus attributing to their Sarduris I. the inscriptions which record the construction of the walls from the rock of Van to the harbour. They suppose a Sarduris II., son of Arame, as the antagonist of Shalmaneser II., and suggest that Sarduris I. was the contemporary of Ashur-nasir-pal II. (885–860 B.C.) (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1897, p. 201). This arrangement throws back Lutipris to about 900 B.C. They promise us an essay upon the subject (see *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie*, 1894, p. 486; *Z. Assyr.* 1897, pp. 200, 201, 202). At present I do not feel convinced by the grounds they have brought forward. No inscriptions of this Sarduris II. have been discovered; nor does any mention appear to be made of works by a predecessor of the same name or by Arame in the inscriptions near the Tabriz gate at Van which they have discovered (see under Ispuinis *infra*). Of Lutipris no inscriptions exist; he is only known as the father of Sarduris. Pending further enquiry the hypothesis of Professor Sayce seems to me to hold the field: “I am more inclined to conjecture that Sarduris I. was the leader of a new dynasty; the ill success of Arrame in his wars with the Assyrians forming the occasion for his overthrow ... the introduction of a foreign mode of writing into the country looks like one of those innovations which mark the rise of new dynasties in the East. The consolidation of the power of Darius Hystaspis was, we may remember, accompanied by the introduction of the cuneiform alphabet of Persia” (*J.R.A.S.* 1882, p. 406). To this I should like to add that it seems consonant with the true order of events that not until *after* the defeat of Arame was the site of Van most happily selected as a sure stronghold against Assyrian attacks—a choice which was largely instrumental in producing the extraordinary development of the northern kingdom under Ispuinis, Menuas, and Argistis. ↑

64 May Arzasku have been situated in the great plain at the southern foot of the Ararat system, now known as the district of Alashkert? The inscription of Shalmaneser runs: “From Dayaeni (which Dr. Belck identifies with the district about the modern Delibaba) I struck camp and approached Arzasku, the capital of the Urardhian Arame. The Urardhian Arame was filled with fear ... and deserted his city. To the mountains Adduri he fled up; behind him I followed; a great battle I fought in the mountains.... Arame was compelled, in order to save his life, to take refuge in an inaccessible mountain.” Dr. Belck suggests that Adduri may have been the name applied by the Khaldians to Ararat and the Ararat system; and that it may survive in the modern Akhury or Arguri (*V. Anth.* 1893. p. 71). ↑

65 *V. Anth.* 1896, pp. 323 and 325. The translation is, however, open to question. ↑

66 The inscription is contained on one face of a recumbent stone which can with difficulty be distinguished from the boulders lying round. The stone has been well shaped and dressed. The characters have been much mutilated by the figure of a cross which has been incised upon the face of the stone. The first line evidently contains the name of Sarduris, while the second was probably occupied by that of Argistikhinis, or the son of Argistis. In line 7 a conquest is recorded, and in line 8 occurs the name of Alusia. Professor Sayce has kindly supplied this brief account of the contents, and I trust that he will publish the text. ↑

67 Arakel, ap. Abich, *Geolog. Forsch. in den kauk. Länd.* Vienna, 1882, part ii. p. 440. ↑

- 68 Saint Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, i. 138. ↑
- 69 Moses of Khorene, ii. 8. ↑
- 70 *Ibid.* ii. 19. ↑
- 71 Faustus of Byzantium, iv. 55. ↑
- 72 Vol. I. Ch. XVIII. pp. 357, 359. ↑
- 73 Merchant in Persia (*Italian Travels in Persia*, Hakluyt Society, 1873, pp. 179 *seq.*). The Kurd is called Zidibec. ↑
- 74 Von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osm. Reiches*, iii. 145. ↑
- 75 Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ix. 980. But the date he gives, viz. 1636, will not suit the chronology. ↑
- 76 Brant in *Journal of R. Geog. Soc.* 1841, vol. x. ↑
- 77 Taylor in archives of the British Consulate at Erzerum. Report of March 18, 1869. The estimates of Jaubert in 1805 (*Voyage en Arménie*, etc. p. 138), and of Layard in 1850 (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 392), appear to have reference to the walled town only. The former counts 15,000 to 20,000 souls, the majority Armenian. The latter says that Van may contain from 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants. Shiel's figure for the population, *including the suburbs*, in 1836, of 12,000 people, "of whom 2000 are Armenians," is plainly in error (*J.R.G.S.* 1838, vol. x.). Vital Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris, 1892, vol. ii. pp. 654, 691), whose statistics I have seldom found reliable, includes 500 Jews in the population of Van—the remnant of the colony transported thither by the Arsakid Tigranes. My enquiries in several quarters elicited replies that no Jews were known to inhabit either the town or the caza, but that there were 25 families at Bashkala.
- With regard to any special elements in the population of the town and caza of Van I was informed as follows:—There may be some few score Circassians; but there is no regular Circassian settlement here. The Armenians are practically all Gregorians. Of Chaldaean Christians, whether adherents of their old faith or converts to Roman Catholicism, only a few stray individuals would be found in the town of Van. But I was informed of a settlement of them—Nestorians—about the shores of Lake Archag, north-east of Van. ↑
- 78 *Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Paris, 1892, p. 190. ↑
- 79 One lira or Turkish pound contains 100 piastres and is equal to 18 shillings. ↑
- 80 I append the names and situations of the Armenian schools. Private schools are marked with a P.

Name of School.	No. of Male Pupils	No. of Female Pupils	Where situated.
1. Arakh	450	150	Arakh quarter of the gardens.
2. Norashen	300 Norashen quarter of the gardens.
3. Yisusean	200	100	Walled city.
4. Hankusner	...	250	Hankusner quarter of the gardens.
5. Sandukhtean	...	150	Norashen „ „ „ „
6. Khach-poghan	155	...	Central avenue of gardens.

Name of School.	No. of Male Pupils	No. of Female Pupils	Where situated.
7. Lusavorchean P.	90	30	
			” ” ” ”
8. Haykavank	85	15	Haykavank quarter.
9. Paragamean P.	50	25	Norashen quarter of gardens.
10. Pusantean P.	...	75	
			” ” ” ”
11. Lukasean	45	10	Norshen-Sufla quarter of gardens.
	<u>1375</u>	<u>805</u>	

↑

81 The text of the slab in this mosque (which he calls the Kurshun mosque) has been copied and published by Dr. Belck in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1892, vol. vii. pp. 257 seq. See also *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, pp. 570, 575 (Sayce, No. LXXX., *Journal R.A.S.* 1894, p. 707). ↑

82 For the cuneiform inscriptions in Surb Paulos (Boghos) see Schulz's Memoir, pp. 298–99; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 400 (I do not know why he calls it the church of St. Peter and St. Paul); *Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, pp. 570 and 573, and *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 1899, p. 320. They are being subjected to fresh examination by Messrs. Belck and Lehmann (Sayce, Nos. XXXI. and XXXII.). In addition to these I noticed a mutilated inscription on a stone in the doorway of Surb Vardan (see *Verh. Anthropol.* 1898, p. 572), and two inscribed slabs in the apse of the ruined Surb Petros, one in fair preservation (Sayce, No. XLVIII.). I was unable to penetrate into the chapel of Surb Sahak, into the walls of which similar fragments of the stelai of the Vannic kings have been inserted (Sayce, Nos. XLV. and XLVI.). ↑

83 The most detailed, as well as the most lucid and impressive, account of the Gurab, or rock of Van, is still that of Schulz (*Journal Asiatique*, 1840, vol. ix. ser. iii. pp. 264 seq.). But the remarks of Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 395 seq., with woodcuts of the rock chambers), Tozer (*Turkish Armenia*, London, 1881, pp. 347 seq.) and Müller-Simonis (*Du Caucase au Golfe Persique*, Paris, 1892, pp. 246 seq.) may be consulted. The only **entrance to the citadel** is by a path which is conducted up the western declivities of the rock from a point closely adjacent to the gate called Iskele in the north-west angle of the fortified town. In Schulz's time this path ascended in a north-easterly direction between a double row of modern walls, composed for the most part of mud. After following these walls for some little distance it arrived in front of a solid wooden door, studded with large nails and strengthened by bars of iron. This gate afforded access to **the castle**, and was never opened except by an express order from the Pasha. The castle enclosure was flanked by walls of greater height and solidity than those without; it contained a number of modern buildings, such as barracks, a small mosque, and a powder magazine. Mr. Tozer was shown a very deep **naphtha well** in this neighbourhood, running down vertically into the rock. The oil, which he describes as a brown, half liquid mixture, could be reached by means of a pole. The house of the commandant and the prison are situated within the enclosure, where may be seen a number of old bronze cannons, curiously ornamented and quite obsolete. Schulz describes the antiquities upon this portion of the rock as consisting of **two groups of cave chambers**. 1. The southern front of a mass of rock which

immediately adjoins the most elevated part of the whole formation—that part which lower down displays the tablet of Xerxes, and which is crowned by the powder magazine—has been hewn down in a vertical direction for a space of about 60 feet. Nearly in the centre is situated an open doorway, surmounted by a smaller aperture to admit light. Both openings have been damaged by human hands, evidently with intention; and no trace of any ornaments or inscriptions remains. The doorway conducts into a vaulted cave chamber, some 45 feet long and 25 feet high. The rock has been less carefully worked than in the case of the caves of Khorkhor. Nearly in front of the entrance, a second doorway in the opposite wall gives access to a smaller apartment, 20 feet long and 10 feet broad, called the Neft Koïou or spring of naphtha, the fumes of which fill the room. At the time of Schulz's visit this inner chamber was nearly filled up by a structure in kiln-burnt bricks and very hard mortar, of which the purpose was not apparent. 2. Quite close to the Neft Koïou, in the block of limestone, adjoining it on the left hand, which rises from the tablet of Xerxes to the powder magazine, may be seen a hole of irregular shape and some 3 feet in diameter, through which one crawls into a group of five rock chambers, of which the largest is 30 feet long and 20 feet broad. The walls of these caves are rudely fashioned, without ornament or niches. In one of them Schulz found human bones.

Perhaps the most remarkable and certainly the most famous series of such excavations upon the rock of Van are known by the name of the **caves of Khorkhor**. They are situated in the steep south-west side of the mass, overlooking a garden which in Schulz's time belonged to the Pasha, but which is now in a desolate and weed-grown condition. The garden bears the same name as the caves—a name of which the etymology is neither Armenian nor Turkish, and which, according to Professor Sayce, may perhaps be taken back to the word Kharkhar, signifying to excavate, found in Vannic texts (*J.R.A.S.* 1882, p. 572). The chambers are visited from the same side as the citadel, and at first by the same path. The remains of steps and of even spaces, hewn out of the rock, suggest that one of the principal approaches to the platform in antiquity was taken by this way. But, after following this avenue for some little distance, you turn to the right, leave the stairs, and clamber along the side of the rock, until you emerge through a fissure upon the southern face and see the garden at your feet. From here a staircase of twenty steps, almost obliterated in some places, slopes along the face of a mass of precipitous crags, in which is placed the entrance to the chambers. The limestone has been carefully flattened and polished, and is covered with inscriptions outside. At the commencement of the stair is seen a little grotto, containing a seat which commands fine views over town and plain. On the right of the grotto is a long inscription in three columns, separated from one another by vertical lines. It has suffered not a little from the impact of cannon balls; but is still in a fairly legible condition. It records the conquests of Argistis I. (Sayce, Nos. XXXVII. XXXVIII. XXXIX.). The continuation of this record is found a little further on, at the end of the stair, and after turning an angle of the rock. It is incised upon the outer face of the polished limestone about the doorway to the caves (Sayce, Nos. XL.–XLIV.; see also Hyvernât's memoir in Müller-Simonis, *op. cit.* p. 531). This aperture, some 6 feet by 5 feet in dimensions, leads into a chamber 32 feet long, 19 feet broad, and 10½ feet high, which again communicates with four lesser rooms. The walls are hewn out with extraordinary care, and ten niches or oblong recesses, 3 feet high and 2 feet broad, are distributed over the sides of the principal apartment about 3½ feet above the ground. Incisions with holes in the centre are placed in the spaces between each pair of niches, and may have held metal lamps. The floor has been excavated in two places into squares a few inches deep. The smaller rooms are furnished with recesses similar to those described.

One of them adjoins a space resembling the head of a pit or shaft, which, however, has been completely filled in with rubble. It probably represents a subterraneous communication with a spring which gushes from the foot of the rock in the garden below.

The **remaining excavations and inscriptions** are disposed as follows over the circumference of the ridge: —1. East of the Khorkhor, but on the same south face, and approached from the side of the gate of Tabriz, you easily recognise a partly natural and partly artificial platform, fairly high up on the rock. A spacious doorway connects this ledge with a cave of which the dimensions, according to my own measurements, are 31 feet by 21 feet. This chamber communicates with three smaller grottos, one approached by a door in the wall opposite the entrance, and the other two by similar apertures in the adjacent walls. The three subsidiary rooms are long and narrow. The one opposite the entrance contains a daïs and steps at its narrow west end; and that on the left hand is furnished with recesses at each extremity. Lower down on the side of the rock one observes a small aperture to which it is possible to gain access. It only measures some 4 feet by 3 feet. In the stone above has been hewn a long but shallow recess, about 3 feet in width. One wonders whether it may have been destined to receive a coffin. The hole gives access to a chamber 23 feet 7 inches in length and 14 feet in breadth. Three sides are furnished with recesses 2 feet 6 inches in depth, placed 3 feet 4 inches from the ground. 2. Inscription on the rock near the gate of Tabriz, much effaced, but copied and deciphered by Messrs. Belk and Lehmann. It contains the names of the kings Menuas and Ispuinis, together with those of the father of Ispuinis, Sarduris, and his grandson Inuspuas (*Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, 1898, pp. 571, 575). The same travellers mention the discovery by them of three new inscriptions on the ridge, which appear, however, to be of minor importance (*ibid.* p. 571). 3. On the northern face of the rock, not far from the Tabriz gate and below the line of fortifications, are situated two artificial recesses at an interval of about twenty paces. That on the right contains a long inscription upon the wall which is on your left as you stand within the recess; it records conquests by Sarduris II. (Sayce, No. XLIX.). This grotto bears the name of Khazane-Kapusi or gate of treasure. 4. On the same side, a short distance further west, and upon a surface which has been hewn down vertically and flattened, are seen three tablets incised into the rock, one of them being on a level with the base of the ridge. Each member of the group contains an inscription; and the three inscriptions have one and the same text. It is of Menuas, and appears to commemorate a restoration of the tablets by that monarch (Sayce, No. XX.). 5. On the same side, near the summit, and almost directly above the grotto Khazane Kapusi (Hyvernat ap. Müller-Simonis, *op. cit.* p. 548), is a large cave, at present comprised within the fortifications, and inaccessible from below. On the right of the entrance is an inscription of King Menuas, purporting that a series of chambers were constructed by him as tombs in this place (Sayce, No. XXI.). ↑

84 The Armenian gentleman in whose company I visited the locality regarded Ak Köpri as a Turkish misnomer for Ak Karapi, a word which he derived from Kar, a stone, and Ap, narrow way in Armenian. The word would signify the narrows of the white crag, or the narrow way separating the crag from the hill. That is a sample of Armenian etymologies. Another derivation is from Ak Kirpi, the white hedgehog. ↑

85 Sayce, No. V. It is an inscription of Ispuinis and Menuas, and is known locally as Meher Kapusi (the gate of Meher, derivation unknown) or Choban Kapusi (the shepherd's gate; so called from a shepherd to whom the "Open Sesame" of the treasure-house, which the slab is supposed to seal, is said to have been revealed in sleep. He entered; but forgot the talisman, and never returned). ↑

86 Since I have mentioned the name of Daniel Vardapet it is only just that I should add that he stated to me that the press had been hired. ↑

87 The inside dimensions of this chapel are: extreme length from recess to recess, 38 feet 7 inches, and extreme breadth, 30 feet. ↑

88 See Vol. I. Ch. XVI. p. 237. ↑

89 The statement of Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 409) that the church is a modern edifice is scarcely correct, and is quite erroneous if it be taken to include the inner sanctuary or chapel. ↑

CHAPTER V

FROM VAN TO BITLIS

The journey from Van to Bitlis may be performed in four days; it is a ride of about a hundred miles. But no traveller will desire to omit a visit to the isle of Akhtamar, which will occupy another day. Nor is it well to press in haste through a country of such manifold interest, and along a coast which for beauty of feature and grandeur of surroundings can scarcely have an equal in the world. It was at Van that, for the first time since setting foot upon Armenian soil, we had been introduced to a civilisation in any sense comparable to the scale and dignity of the landscapes through which we passed; and, although the monuments of that vanished culture belong to a remote antiquity, they are well calculated to divert our minds from the contemplation of the works of Nature, or at least to recall us to a sense of the power of man. The spirit of that race of iron which held in check the Assyrians still lingers over the scene of their exploits. You leave the ancient city with an added element of interest in a country which was the home of so great a people, and which still retains the memorial of their sway. But that country was also the centre of a mediæval kingdom, the contemporary and sometimes the rival of the dynasty which has left us Ani as an example of their craft and taste; and, such is the concern of the modern Armenian in the history of his nation, that long before you will reach Van you will be familiar with the name and arms of the kingdom of Vaspurakan.¹ It was therefore with curiosity that we set out upon our journey, and with regret that we were obliged by the season to narrow the sphere of our wanderings to the regular stages of our prescribed route to Erzerum.²

At a little before noon on the 16th of November we mounted our horses in the court of the American Mission, whither we had proceeded to take leave of our friends. We passed by the church of Arakh, and emerged from the zone of gardens upon the surface of the bare plain. The usual stoppages in connection with the baggage, which seldom fails to begin by slipping from the horse's back to beneath his girth, enabled us to fill our eyes with the vision of the bay and beauteous city which we might never contemplate again ([Fig. 138](#)). We had purchased two new horses, one for the dragoman and the other to carry our effects. You require a good animal for the last of these purposes, who will trot along by himself. But throughout our journey we experienced the greatest difficulty in obtaining serviceable beasts at any price. Even at Van my choice was narrowed by the various ailments of the other candidates to a sturdy four-year-old who had not known work. This youngster, an iron grey, was no sooner set at large than he set off at full gallop across the plain. His career was cut short by the rapid overthrow of his load, which dragged him panting to the ground. But we trained him to perfection before reaching the northern capital, and I sold him at a profit in Trebizond. Worse fortune attended our second purchase, that of a seasoned horse of milk-white hue. I noticed that

he was limping about an hour out of Van; and, to my surprise, when I came to examine him closer, he proved to be an ingenious substitute for the one I had bought. The colour was the same, and also the appearance; but not the points which had influenced my selection, although they would not appeal to the dragoman's eye. The knave of an Armenian who had concluded the sale with me had abstracted his former property from my stable, and had put in his place this unsound hack. I sent him back in charge of the zaptieh with a letter to Mr. Devey; but I do not know whether our Consul ever recovered my stolen steed. He most kindly sent me on a fine horse of his own, which reached us safely at Vostan. Such are the tricks of these subtle Armenians, whom long centuries of oppression have ingrained with every kind of turpitude. As we rode along this shore, one regretted God's covenant, that He would be patient with the hopeless race of man. To overwhelm them in these waters and people afresh the scene of their crimes, would, it seemed to us, be the kindest and wisest plan.

The weather was delightful—a climate mild as spring, made fresh by the expanse of sea. The rays of a hot sun flashed through a crystal-clear atmosphere, which disclosed wide prospects over lake and land. Fragments of white cloud floated above the outline of the Kurdish mountains, less gloomy beneath the newly-fallen snows ([Fig. 139](#)). In the west, Nimrud was faithful to its appearance of an island, separated by a strait from the train of Sipan. But to-day we could see the walls of the vast crater—a caldron of which the rim appeared commensurate with the area of the island, rising in a robe of white from the waves. We were pointing towards the high land in the direction of Artemid, the southern limit of the spacious plain of Van. When near the village, we struck a road which the Pasha was building, with the avowed intention of extending it to Bitlis. Workmen were busy upon it, and there was quite a stream of little bullock carts, conveying stones and soil. It follows the margin of the lake, and the drive along it to Artemid will be a treat such as few cities can bestow. The castled rock, backed by the fabric of the great volcano beyond the distant headland of the bay; the noble lake, intensely blue, expanding to the distant Nimrud, yet plashing tamely with tiny wavelets on the sand—these are answered in the opposite direction, across the poplars which hide the village, by the precipitous walls, sharp edges and deep shadows, characteristic of the stupendous barrier in the south. Although the distance between Van and Artemid does not exceed eight miles, it was after two before we arrived. We mounted the side of the hill ridge which meets the lake at this point in a bold and high cliff. Gardens decline along the easier levels towards the invisible margin of the shore. You look across the foliage to the fabric of Sipan, no longer covered by the horn of the bay (Frontispiece).

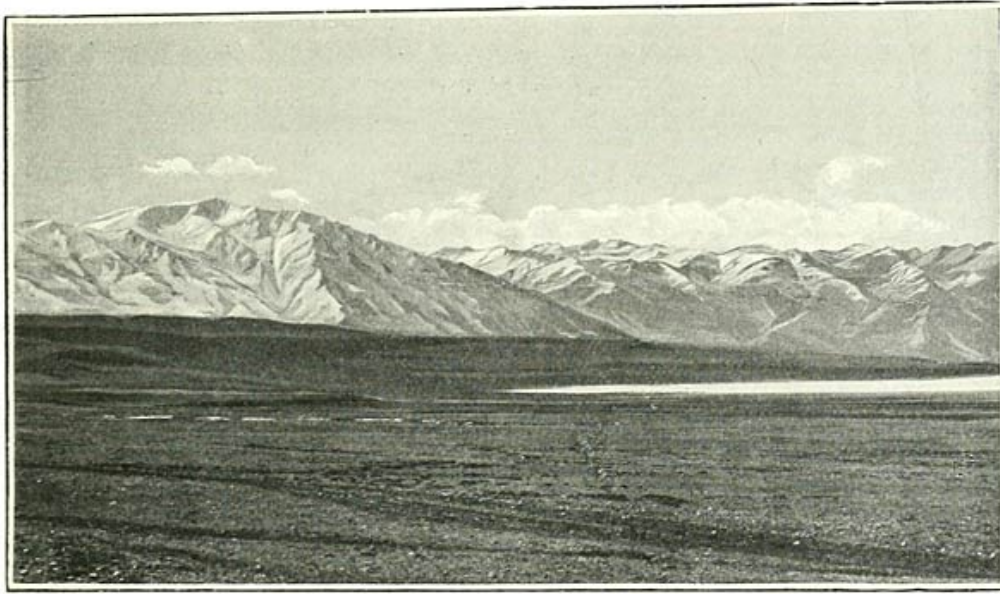


FIG. 139. MOUNTAIN RANGE ALONG SOUTH COAST OF LAKE VAN.

Artemid! the Greek name, and the memorials in the neighbourhood of that early civilisation which is revealed by the inscriptions of Van, suggest, no less than the striking site, the possibility of further discoveries, when the place shall have been thoroughly explored.³ A hasty examination would have been of small service, and we were anxious to reach Vostan. So we rode, without halting, through the straggling settlement, and did not draw rein until we had reached a point some two miles beyond it, where it was decided to rest our horses and take lunch. We were still crossing the barrier of hills which support the gardens of Artemid; our situation was elevated, and the view superb. We were able to follow on the horizon the outline of the Ala Dagħ, although those mountains were over sixty miles away. They were loftiest on a bearing a few degrees east of north; and in that direction there was a fine peak, overtopping the neighbouring summits which fretted the edge of the long wall of snow-clad heights. A little further west we could see those heights receding towards the south, to the passage of the Murad. In the ridges which bordered the gap we well recognised the outworks which the river pierces between Karakilisa and Tutakh—the same ridges which, from our standpoint on the slopes of the Ararat system, had composed a distant parapet, so faintly seen that we questioned the impression, between the two blocks of mountain on the southerly margin of the plain of Alashkert.⁴ The landscape south of Ala Dagħ was now outspread before us; it was indeed an instructive view. Whatever eminences broke the expanse were comparatively humble; a zone of plains or vast steppes would appear to be interposed between that barrier and the lake of Van. Recalling the prospects about Tutakh, we arrived at the conclusion that those steppes are continued towards the west; and subsequent travel established the fact that they extend from the foot of the plateau of Bingöl Dagħ towards the longitude of Bayazid in the east. The only object which arrested the eye in the direction of Ala Dagħ was a high hill on the southern shore of the

arm of the lake, with a village and gardens at its base. It was said to be the village of Alur. Ararat was not visible; but for the first time we discerned land between Sipan and the crater of Nimrud. The two mountains appeared to be joined by some low hills.

Proceeding at four o'clock, we commenced to descend after half an hour from the range of hills which we had now crossed. In the plain before us, bordering the lake, we could see a winding river which our zaptieh knew under the name of Anguil Su, but which, I believe, is more correctly spelt Enghil Su (Brant's Anjel Su). It comes from the territory of Mahmudia, where it is called the Khoshab.⁵ But we had not yet reached the floor of the valley before we were confronted by a swift stream which, fortunately for us, happened to be spanned by a bridge. It was the famous Shamiram Su, flowing towards Artemid along the slopes of the hills. I was informed that it has its source in some springs about two hours distant, near the village of Upper Mechinkert, and that a portion of its waters find their way into the Anguil Su at the neighbouring settlement of Lower Mechinkert. After irrigating the orchards of Artemid, it pursues its course to the gardens of Van, in which it is said to become absorbed.⁶ There can be no doubt that it is an artificial conduit; left to itself it would join the lake at the foot of this plain. My informant attributed to Semiramis the conducting of it as far as Artemid. We remarked the exceptional pureness of the current. Soon after crossing it, we reached the right bank of the Anguil Su at a convenient bridge. The basin proper of the river may have a width of some two miles, and it is a distance of three or four miles from the bridge to the lake. Looking up the valley, we could follow the outline of the Kurdish mountains as they circled round towards Varag; that ridge itself was concealed by the hills behind Artemid; but, although the range beyond had diminished in height after leaving the lake, it was still the same range of bold parapets and snowy peaks. The most elevated portion lay in the direction of Akhtamar, where there was a lofty mass, known as Mount Ardos.

The stream, which had a greenish hue, was not more than some thirty feet wide; a number of rivulets, driving flour-mills, come in on the left bank. We had left that bank before opening out the village of Anguil or Enghil; it lies below the bridge, on the further side of the river, and consists of some sixty or seventy neat houses, inhabited by Armenians and a few Kurds. On the same shore, about a mile lower down, is situated the village of Mesgeldek. Some high ground separated us from the plain of Vostan; but it dies away before reaching the lake. Gaining the summit of this moderate eminence, we looked across some flats and marshes to a hillside which projects from the foot of the mountains, and forms a promontory of the shore. The foliage which softened the lower slopes of the headland belonged to the gardens of Vostan. We followed the bay of higher land, and reached the village of Atanon after over an hour's ride from the Enghil Su. Just beyond this Armenian settlement the zone of orchards commences; in the plain below a swift stream flows. An isolated house on its right bank was indicated to us as the residence of the Kaimakam of Vostan. We reached this edifice at ten minutes before seven, having covered a distance from Artemid of about fifteen miles. In the place of the

official, who happened to be absent, we were received with great kindness by his brother. We were invited to pass the night in the room of audience; and quilted coverlets, filled with cotton, were spread on *takhts* or wooden couches, after the manner of the East. After supper and conversation we enveloped ourselves in them, and were not long in falling asleep.

When morning came I commenced to explore and realise our surroundings. Vostan is no town, nor even a village, but is a district or zone of gardens at the foot of the Kurdish mountains about the spurs of Mount Ardos. On the east it extends to the village of Atanon, and on the west to the promontory. The orchards keep to the high land about the base of the range; between them and the lake there is an extensive strip of alluvial soil which, in the neighbourhood of our quarters, had a width of about two miles. I was assured on all sides that there were four or five hundred houses within the limits of the district of Vostan; but people get confused when dealing with an area of this description, and with the dispersed units of which such a settlement is composed. I doubt whether there could be found more than half that number. The Armenian families have emigrated; their room, but not their place, has been filled up, at least in part, by Kurds. As a natural consequence, it is impossible to obtain the bare necessities of a little corn, or a shoe for a horse. A small church still remains, a memorial of better times, which is said to have existed for many centuries. We could see its plain four walls and small conical dome to the east of the Kaimakam's house. We were told that it is still attended by a priest.

It is only on the neighbouring slope of the bold promontory that Vostan can be said to assume a concrete existence; and, even there, the group of buildings which feature the hillside are but the remains of the ancient town. You see the relics of an old castle, the ruins of a church, and a mosque where the faithful still pray. On the margin of the lake, below the headland, a little mausoleum of yellow stone still rises above the grassy soil. I set out on foot to visit the site, in the company of the doctor of law for the *caza* of Kavach. My companion—a man of middle age and intelligent face—bore the name of Mustapha Remzi Effendi, and was known as the *Hakim*. After jumping many ditches, which often compelled us to deviate, we arrived at the mausoleum standing among the debris of an ancient cemetery, on rising ground, at an interval of a few hundred yards from the peaceful waters of the lake. It is indeed a charming monument, of highly-finished masonry, fresh and clean as on the day when it was completed. In shape it is dodecagonal, and it has an inside diameter of 15 feet 8 inches. The surface of the roof of stone—in form a cone with twelve sides—is relieved by a moulding of geometrical pattern; a sculptured frieze and a long inscription in Arabic character runs round the walls, just below the roof. A familiar feature are the niches with stalactite vaulting; a small doorway, surmounted by a moulding in this character, gives access to the interior from the side of the lake. The *Hakim* read to me an Arabic inscription which is placed above this entrance; it was translated for me in the following sense. “This mausoleum

belongs to the daughter of the ruler here in Vostan, Sheikh Ibrahim.” According to my companion, the name of the lady was Halimeh. I doubt whether her remains still repose within the enclosure of this jewel which is her tomb. The door is gone, and the vault yawns as though it were unoccupied, except by a heap of rubbish and debris. One admires the taste of the architect, who refrained from decorating the interior and left intact the restful influence of the spaces of wall.

From this cemetery we proceeded up the face of the hillside which juts out from south to north and meets the lake. The remains of the castle are situated upon the summit; the mosque and the ruins of the church lie beneath it, upon the middle slopes. The castle has no pretensions to architectural merit, and very little is left of the church. Some stones engraved with crosses in the old Armenian fashion could still be seen in the masonry of the last of these buildings, a mere chapel rather than a church. But the mosque is an edifice of respectable proportions, having inside dimensions of 65 feet 7 inches by 64 feet 4 inches. From the outside it is nothing more than four walls of hewn stone, surmounted by a dome of clay. But when you enter the spacious chamber the eye is pleased by the vaulted ceilings, and by the double series of open arches which support the roof. These arches are three in number in each series, and between each there is a space of wall veil. In this manner one may say that there are a nave and two aisles; but these aisles are of greatest length in the opposite direction to that of the altar, which faces the entrance door. In fact the arrangement is that usual in a Christian church, except for the position of the altar. The ceilings are built of plain kiln-burnt bricks, and neither they nor the walls are decorated in any way. A fine feature is the dome, in the aisle furthest from the door. The *membair*, or pulpit, on the right of the altar is a richly-wrought structure of wood. An inscription records that it was the gift of Khosrov Pasha, and that the donor restored the mosque in the year of the Hegira 850 (A.D. 1446). I have almost forgotten to mention that between this mosque and the castle is placed a little building with three windows, said to be the tomb of Sheikh Ibrahim.

Who was Sheikh Ibrahim, who was Khosrov Pasha? The answers which I received to these questions did not go far to dispel my ignorance. The Hakim called them Arabs, and connected them with the caliphate; yet he admitted that they were a branch of the family which reigned in Konieh, that is to say, of the dynasty of Seljuk Turks. To Sheikh Ibrahim he attributed the foundation of both mosque and church, with the intention of inducing his Moslem and his Christian subjects to tolerate and respect each other's creed. He added that the last of this line of rulers was one Izzeddin Shir Bey.

We returned to the house of the Kaimakam, where I joined the remainder of my party. All were in the saddle by ten minutes to four o'clock. We mounted the slope of the hill which forms the promontory, and which we found to be a spur of Mount Ardos. It is crossed at a point behind, or on the south of the castle; the ascent is steep and the decline none too short. Nearing the strip of shore on the opposite side of the barrier, we were

impressed by the outcrops of red granitic rock and green serpentine, the beds lying side by side. At half-past four we gained the level, and proceeded at the foot of some hills which are interposed between the range and the shore. These recede after some distance, and circle away from the lake, leaving a spacious bay of low and, in places, marshy ground. On the further horn of the shore we were shown a group of trees and slowly-rising wreaths of smoke. It was Akhavank, known to the Turks as Iskele (the port), the residence on the mainland of the Katholikos of Akhtamar. Although the sand on the border of the water was rather powdery, we found it better than the broken ground inland. It was pleasant too to ride by the side of the crystal water, and look down into the blue depths. Several little villages could be seen at the foot of the hills; they appeared more clearly from the lake next day. We reached Akhavank at ten minutes to six, and I estimate the distance from Vostan at about eight miles.

A two-storeyed white-faced house, an upper room, built out, like a verandah, with large windows overlooking the lake; stables and appurtenances of various application—the whole relieved against a background of poplars and fruit trees—such is Akhavank, the residence of His Holiness the Katholikos Khachatur (given to the cross) of Akhtamar. The house was full of people, and the stables of horses; it so happened that the Kaimakam of Vostan was on a visit, accompanied by a numerous retinue. The interior of the building was bare and uncomfortable, rooms and passages alike. Full decadence was written large on the squalid furniture and cheerless walls. I was ushered into a long apartment, facing the bay, and composing one side of the first floor. A fetid smell of garlic, and the want of ventilation, almost overpowered me. At the further end of the room, on a Kurdish rug, spread on the floor at the foot of the divan, sat or squatted a fat priest, attired in a black robe edged with sable, and wearing the usual black silk cowl of conical form, to which a cross of dim rose diamonds was attached. His back rested on quite a little nest of cushions; a few papers and a little bag lay at his side. On the adjacent couch beside the wall were seated several persons of various types of physiognomy and styles of dress.

I saluted, and received the salute of the figure on the floor; it was the Katholikos of Akhtamar. He spoke of his advanced age and growing infirmities; he was seventy-four years old, and had been possessed of his dignity for no less than thirty years. His tomb was already built; nothing remained but to spend the interval and descend into the grave. This touching sentiment is often used as a becoming pretext for idleness by better people than Khachatur. But, as he spoke, the tongue lolled heavily from side to side, and the voice seemed to struggle with an advanced asthmatic affection. In reply to my enquiry why he did not reside in the island, I received the answer that at Akhavank he was in a better position to receive his guests and satisfy their wants. It is, no doubt, a paying business to keep such a monastery, provided always that you manage it well. You must personally superintend the arrangements for the picnic, or others of lesser station will

abstract your clients. You must be careful to keep well with the Government officials, or pilgrims will be afraid to come.

So the Katholikos of Akhtamar discards his pomp, is seen and eats with his guests in the same room round the same tray. On this occasion he was the centre of what was certainly a curious party, assembled against the evening meal. Servants entered with a circular platter on which were arrayed the various viands, and placed it before His Holiness. Requested to seat myself on the right of our host, I endeavoured, as best I might, to fold my legs beneath my body on a carpet by his side. Opposite me sat a Kurd, an old man who was still a giant, with bony hands more than proportionate to his size. From his sunken cheeks projected the beak of a vulture between small and deeply-caverned eyes. One of the pupils had almost entirely disappeared, leaving a patch of red within the hollow of the contracted eyelid, from which a mucous fluid was discharged over the parchment skin. Of such a face smiling could scarcely be expected; my neighbour remained grave, taking his fill of each dish, and fixing me with his single eye. On my right was the Kaimakam, a little man of no particular characteristics, wearing a fez and European dress. Although a Georgian and a relation of the Pasha of Van, you would take him for a Turk. Towards myself he was profuse of compliments and attentions, expressing his regret that he had not been present in Vostan to receive us, and blaming the British Consul for not having written to announce our stay. An officer of zaptiehs whom I had brought from Vostan with me—a mad fellow who had lathered his pony by the wildest manœuvres as we rode along the sands—and some of the principal attendants of the Turkish official, completed the company who were privileged to share the meal of the Katholikos and sit at his pewter tray.

But on that tray my eyes discerned with ill-concealed fright a spectre invisible to my fellow-guests. The shade of Hunger floated over the messes of meat and unpalatable vegetables, swimming in oil or ghee.⁷ I could not eat the gritty pancake bread, or the salt cheese inlaid with pieces of green straw. Nor was I able with success to emulate the politeness of Julius Cæsar; a sickness came over me when I tried. The old priest was at liberty to dip his fingers into my dishes and pick the choicest bits. I could scarcely swallow a few morsels; but my host was much too stupid to see through the excuses which I made.

I felt that the cross might have joy of Khachatur, and left his presence when the dishes had been removed. On my guard against the prejudice of a bad dinner, I reflected that at Varag the pangs had been the same; yet what pleasant recollections remained of that visit and of the companionship of the quiet Daniel Vardapet! I sought out the steward of His Holiness, and of him enquired for a sleeping-place. Zadò was the name of this personage; he was an Armenian, but looked like a Kurd. He was the most influential of the clerical officials, and certainly smelt the worst. With him came Avò, the trustiest of his henchmen, proud of his antecedents as crossing-sweeper in Stambul. We were by

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